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"THE RED-PAINT PEOPLE"—A REPLY

In the *American Anthropologist* of October-December, 1913 (p. 707), Mr D. I. Bushnell, Jr, does me the honor to discuss at length my paper describing the Red-paint People of Maine. It is fortunate that Mr Bushnell wrote such a review, for it illustrates how easily one is misled when he has neither investigated the facts nor visited the scenes of explorations which he presumes to criticize. On reading Mr Bushnell's opinions to the effect that the ancient culture I have been studying in Maine is identical with that of modern Indians and is not to be differentiated from other Algonquian cultures, I made an investigation. I thought I might be in error and that Mr Bushnell had discovered sites or cemeteries in New England bearing out his contentions, but that his results had not been published. I immediately addressed the authorities on the subject

in the Smithsonian Institution and at Harvard University. These gentlemen informed me that so far as they were aware, Mr Bushnell has done no work in Maine. He may have been on the coast, or possibly he has visited Bar Harbor, but I cannot ascertain that he has carried on researches in the state. This being true, his wrong interpretation of our field labors should not pass unrebuked.

Neither Mr Bushnell nor any other real archeologist could have examined and opened 197 of the so-called graves or deposits (as we have done), nor could he have studied the character of the objects removed from the graves, compared them with objects (or interments) of Narragansett, Penobscot, and similar tribes, and after months of such study conclude that the graves I have described are part and parcel of a modern Indian culture. No unprejudiced worker,—a man who makes observations on field data and does not attempt to reconcile facts with a preconceived theory,—having done our work, would claim that all the New England cultures are one and the same and that they indicate no antiquity.

Next winter we hope to publish the results of our field observations during the last three years. When this report is issued all students of American archeology will agree, if they are amenable to deductions based on facts, that the so-called Red-paint culture is all I have claimed for it, and that Mr Willoughby's conclusions, presented in his able paper many years ago, are entirely true. Further, that the culture is even more pronounced and different from others than Mr Willoughby claimed it to be.

Mr Bushnell states that graves containing ochre abound. Of course they do—hundreds of them, in which there is a little ochre, are found in the United States, and there are records of several in which considerable red paint has been discovered. But in all these graves, whether found in Missouri, Florida, Ohio, South Dakota, or Massachusetts, the Red-paint culture types *do not persist*. That is the very point.

In the last number of the *American Anthropologist* Mr Clarence B. Moore also writes of hematite powder deposits in mounds. But in his extended quotations he mentions pottery as being among the objects discovered in association. Mr Moore's collections, illustrated in his magnificent books, show types common to the Florida and Alabama graves, but these are absolutely distinct and different from the stone tools Mr Willoughby and I have taken out of the ground. We get no pottery in the Red-paint groups.

If there were no difference as to types, layers, etc., between our Red-

paint deposits and the several mounds opened by Mr Moore or Mr Douglass, and Mr Bushnell's historic graves, I would scarcely be so foolish as to oppose evident truths and subject myself to adverse criticism. It is because these deposits are different from Mr Bushnell's graves and Mr Moore's mounds that I have drawn my conclusions.

I have found mounds containing colored earths, but I never discovered gouges, plummets, fire-stones, adze-blades, flat celts, and long "Penobscot-type" pendants in them.

I contended that the types described do not persist elsewhere, and this statement is in accord with the facts. Mr Bushnell's views are contrary to the facts.

The adze-blade, the gouge, the flat hatchet, the long slate points, the plummets, the fire-stones, and the hammer-stones—these are fixed types in the Red-paint culture area. The graves contain a preponderance of red paint. This is not true of the recent Indian cemeteries elsewhere in New England. To claim, as does Mr Bushnell, that because red paint is found in other portions of the country, these graves are not distinct from other cultures, is as logical as to contend that because prehistoric pottery is found in Florida, New Mexico, and Pennsylvania, pottery represents one and the same aboriginal culture regardless of locality.

Mr Moore does not group his Florida culture with that of Ohio and Wisconsin, although pottery is found in all three localities.

Mr Bushnell seems unable to realize that all Indian burials are not alike; that our observations were made with the greatest care and thoroughness, and that if these cemeteries, or deposits, and what is in them were but a duplication of other sites, we would have stated that fact.

Mr Bushnell's statement that I consider these graves very ancient merely because they are different from others, is incorrect. The graves are so old that one-fifth of the stone objects have commenced to disintegrate. In many places we cannot trace the outlines of the graves, although we made use of hand trowels and whisk brooms, and worked with extreme care.

Recently a large Algonquian cemetery was opened near Warren, Rhode Island. The interments indicate the early historic period, and are probably two hundred years old, if not more. In these graves fragments of cloth were found fairly well preserved, and on one or two of the skulls portions of the long hair remained. I would suggest that Mr Bushnell compare these finds with ours.

I worked along the Merrimac river this summer and found a number

of interments, but these do not compare generally or in detail with those of the Red-paint culture. These cemeteries are exactly like those Mr Bushnell imagines we discovered in the Red-paint area. In reality they are vastly different and should under no circumstances be grouped with them.

The sand ridges, in which most of the Red-paint people placed the deposits, are not wet, as Mr Bushnell imagines, but dry. The sole exception is the Mason site at Lake Alamoosook, and this is due to a dam constructed in recent times at the outlet of the lake. In my statement that the Maine graves are old, I subscribe to the belief expressed to me in conversation by such distinguished workers as Professor Putnam and Mr Willoughby. In archeology, when a man has labored for thirty years, he certainly should be permitted to express conviction that deposits in which stone implements decay are older than interments made just prior to the visit of John Smith or of Captain Mason.

If these graves are modern; if the Red-paint culture is the same as all other cultures in New England; if nothing is to be learned from such work as is being done in Maine—the hardest kind of work, involving hundreds of miles of travel, inconvenience, and the expenditure of large sums of money—then are we wasting our time, efforts, and means. At this writing, we have just come 233 miles through the Maine woods searching for sites on the St John river and its tributaries. We have dug in scores of places, but as yet have found no sites such as occur in the Red-paint area.

If the Indian is of the same culture and epoch throughout New England, as Mr Bushnell's article seems to imply, then all of us should abandon field work and confine our studies to historical documents. We will thus be saved useless expense and unprofitable labor. Having exhausted the historical data, we might study the life and record the opinions of the modern Penobscots living in Oldtown, Maine, and who now serve as farmers, carpenters, lumbermen, and guides. If Mr Bushnell is right, there would be no archeology. We should study the living and permit the dead to rest in their graves.

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TWO ALLEGED ALGONQUIAN LANGUAGES OF CALIFORNIA

THE last number of volume 15 of the *American Anthropologist* contains an article by Dr Sapir attempting to show that Wiyot and Yurok, two native languages of California, belong to the Algonquian stock.